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ment Whip's point of view, has been entered upon, it is almost impossible to stop. Pledges have to be renewed, and re-renewed; for, if renewals are not forthcoming and satisfactory, a complete breakdown may occur any day. Even Tammany could get a few points by the study of electioneering politics as they have been practised and developed since the group pressure and the bargain system came into vogue at Westminster eighteen months ago.

EDWARD PORRITT.

### KOSSUTH'S PREDICTIONS.

SINCE the days of Benvenuto Cellini no man of superlative talents ever talked more slightly of his own most popular gifts than the Hungarian patriot whose eloquence made him the marvel of three continents.

"Their deplorable æsthetics tempt them to sacrifice the substance to the form," said he, after his return from a mass meeting of British admirers; "they enjoy my speeches as works of art, and would applaud just as much if I was talking about Japanese fans or a fashionable novel. When Peter the Hermit tried to rouse Europe against the enemies of our faith, they would have complimented him on the elegance of his Latin syntax."

"We are dependent on others more than we think, even for our self-respect," said he on another occasion; "or I would gladly dispense with this sort of popularity. It might subserve my private ambition, but does not seem to promote the interest of our cause."

Our great Florentine sculptor pleased himself in the rôle of a military fire-eater, and Louis Kossuth would have exchanged all the laurels of Demosthenes for the honors of a political prophet. As early as 1844 he urged his countrymen to leave the House of Hapsburg as they would flee from a fallen temple, and to the last day of his life he maintained that the predicted catastrophe had been postponed, rather than prevented, by artificial props, which would only add to the weight of the final collapse. Conflicting interests, he held, would dissolve the work of mediæval empire builders as they had cancelled the conquests of the Cæsars, and would one day divorce the emancipated masses from every dynasty of the civilized world. "After the hood of ignorance is once removed from the eyes of a nation," he said, "all other fetters will drop in quick succession; only we should remember that the decisive circumstance in such matters is the level of general intelligence—not the eminence of isolated scholars. A few of your North European savants, no doubt, tower head and shoulders above Rousseau and Voltaire, but the mental emancipation of the average French citizen at the end of the eighteenth century has never been paralleled outside of North America: hence the phenomenon of a Republican revolt preceding that of other European nations by more than a hundred years. Hence, also, the miraculous victories of the first Napoleon, whose army held the trump cards in brains as well as in courage and national enthusiasm."

"For our so-called civilized monarchies," he adds, "the control of public schools has become an affair of self-preservation; still the sunrise of reason will proceed faster than they expect, because the ability to read implies all sorts of things, nowadays, and calamity, too, is apt to operate as a sudden eye-opener." Kossuth seems to have expected a great European war as a prelude to a general insurrection, followed by a confederation of Old World republics, on the model of the United States.

"The rise of that revolt," he says, "will proceed from west to east, and the rulers of far-eastern autocracies will then suddenly become liberal and benign, but they will have to make their reckoning with the laws of moral contagion. The example set by the prosperity of neighboring freedmen will make the most indolent nation rebel against the mildest of monarchs, *vide* the case of D. P." (Dom Pedro?) "and of the Spanish West Indies."

"Redeemable Europe" (*das rettbare Europa*) is a term that often occurs in Kossuth's political pamphlets, and seems to imply a distinction between the progressive and effete, or even retrogressive nations of the Caucasian continent. Among the first-named class the Magyar patriot emphatically ranks his native land, as well as Bulgaria, Roumania, and Servia—countries which identity of interest will unite in a "Danubian Federation," while some of the Mediterranean peninsula will follow Asia Minor into the limbo of worn-out lands.

The bitter mementos of Vilagos did not prevent Kossuth from auguring a great future for the Russian Empire,—“a colossus,” he says, “which for centuries has been kept in a state of moral hibernation, from which it will one day rouse itself, hungry, fierce, and decidedly wide-awake.”

Nihilism, however, he repudiated so emphatically that he often declared his inability to imagine the process by which a sane human being could get himself to expect any salutary results from experiments of that sort: “Anarchy is a correlation of disorganization, and we might as well try to remedy a toothache with a dose of dynamite.”

Nor was his faith in Socialism much stronger, but he admits the probability that it will be practically tested not only with great persistence, but on a very large scale. “The real tendencies of the system,” he predicts, “will then reveal themselves in a manner not apt to be forgotten by the next few generations of Utopia-hunters.”

The twentieth century, withal, “will be an era of strange experiments, in religion as well as in social and educational reform.” In commenting upon the monstrous aberration of the Skopzis he remarks: “There was a time when I had begun to hope that the age of moral epidemics was gone by forever, but the capacity of the Slavonic races for obstinate fanaticism is a fact, ominous enough to make a candid observer somewhat thoughtful. If such doctrines are persecution proof, it is worse than useless to attempt the suppression of comparatively plausible creeds, like Mormonism and the gospel of the Wahabees.”

“Have you ever been in Albania?” Kossuth asked a French traveller, who visited him in his Turkish exile. “A good many years before the birth of Napoleon, Jean Jacques Rousseau recorded a presentiment that ‘the island of Corsica would some day produce a man destined to astonish the world,’ and I have a similar presentiment in regard to the Albanian highlands. The natives of those out-of-the-way mountains have thus far had no chance to appear on the stage of great historical events, and have preserved their primitive energy, together with a terrible strength of passion and a heroic tenacity of purpose.”

In 1850 the Turks saved Kossuth's life by refusing to surrender him to the victors of Vilagos, and that proof of generosity may have helped to modify his horoscope of their political prospects. “The race of the old Turkoman shepherds,” he says, “could hardly have stood their ground on this side of the Dardanelles, but that in the veins of their ruling classes there is by this time quite as much Circassian blood as there is an alloy of Norman

enterprise in the constitution of the conservative Anglo-Saxon, and that inheritance will be sure to tell in the coming life-and-death struggle against the power of the encroaching Muscovites."

His second ally, the victorious army of the North German Empire, was the subject of his frequent encomiums, but he scouted the idea that its conquests could ever enforce a permanent peace on the Rhine. "France," he said, "may be stunned by a knockdown blow, but enduring acquiescence is not in the nature of the Gallic race. The descendants of the restless Gauls run no risk from dry-rot. They will perish fighting."

"Keep your eye on Chile," he once advised an American visitor; "there, if anywhere, the lost prestige of the Spanish race will reassert itself under the auspices of favorable political and climatic conditions. Modern civilization is a plant that will not thrive under the equator."

"Don't you think that the name of the *United States* will eventually become a misnomer?" asked the same interviewer.

"Likely enough," said Kossuth, "but what does it matter? That will not change the fact that North America is destined to be a land of prosperous republics. America, in many important senses of the word, is the land of the future. Its geographical facilities for experiment and the Yankee ingenuity of its master-race will solve all sorts of social problems—the *Crux Reformatorium*, perpetual peace, perhaps, alone excepted."

"So you think war will continue to the end of time?"

"Yes, at least just as long as force remains the only imaginable way to suppress a revolt against the decisions of the proposed Court of International Arbitration. The dawn of the millennium may change human nature, but all we can do in the mean time is to perfect the engines of destruction in a manner that will make warlike nations hesitate to incur the responsibility for a breach of the peace. The appearance of a redoubtable strategist keeps the world quiet for a while, and the invention of an irresistible engine of war may have the same effect—till the self-reliance of our cautious neighbors is revived by a still more ingenious invention of their own. In America, especially, 'wondrous engines' will be shooting as well as spinning, but that is not going to prevent an enormous increase of population, and a development of cities the like of which the world has never seen. If it were not for my fits of asthma, I would be content, like Fenelon, to live on, *par pure curiosité*, to witness the more and more miraculous achievements of this age of inventions."

Kossuth's recovery from many apparently hopeless disorders may really have had something to do with the intensity of his personal interest in all the important events of his time. As his library attests, the range of his studies was as wide as the field of science; but the history of reform remained his hobby, and to the last day of his long life the calm preceding the outbreak of a general European storm did not for a moment make him doubt the correctness of his political forecast.

Only six months ago he sent his friend, Signor Mantegazza, of Rome, a journal of the Society for Asiatic Researches, with an account of an episode in the mediæval history of China, and a marginal note: "Is not this tradition a prototype of many a prophet's fate?"

The text of that comment was as follows: In the reign of the Emperor Hiong Wang, two astronomers, Hoy and Yun-Tsi, predicted an eclipse of the sun, and were sentenced to death for blasphemy. The Emperor had a personal interview with the star-gazers and was inclined to commute their sen-

tence, but at the suggestion of a learned mandarin, and at their own request, he remanded them to prison to await the outcome of their prophecy. If their prediction should be justified by the event they were to be dismissed with honors and rich presents; otherwise they were to be beheaded as blasphemous impostors. At the appointed time the people of Nankin crowded their housetops, and all eyes were riveted on the sky, but the sun shone all day with undimmed splendor, and at night the Emperor consented to let the law take its course. The sentence of death was accordingly executed; but the very next morning, when the mandarins assembled to burn the books of the blasphemers, the ceremony was interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun.

F. L. OSWALD.

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### NATIONAL BANK EXAMINERS CRITICISED.

THE Honorable E. S. Lacey, when Comptroller of the Currency, suggested that a training-school of bank examiners, as an adjunct to the administration of the Banking Department of the general Government, should be established, believing that the provisions of the National Bank Act would, through the thorough training of bank examiners, be much better enforced.

Just how such a school could be established, without great expense to the Government, and what plan could be pursued to give bank examiners, besides technical drill, also a requisite business training, he did not perhaps suggest; yet the suggestion seems to be a fruitful idea, for any one who has had experience with bank examination, as it was actually carried on, up to a very recent period at least, knows that much bank examination was farcical in the extreme. Many of the old-time examiners were inexperienced in banking or any other business: sometimes broken-down bankers of dissipated habits, or, frequently again, relatives of prominent politicians or statesmen, or, what was worse in some respects, men who were politicians and by political influence obtained the important post of bank examiner as reward for work done for the party in power.

Instances are known where examiners became too drunk while making an examination to complete it, and by a skilful manipulation of documents the real condition of the bank was not reported to the Bank Department at Washington. It is not said that the public were likely to be injured in all cases by such neglect, but the tendency was bad, as it encouraged loose methods in bank management and avoided the corrective hand of the Comptroller. No one but an experienced banker can fully appreciate the effect the criticisms and strictures have upon bank officers from the Bank Department.

Then, again, there were other instances where rival banks, by a too liberally dispensed hospitality to a too susceptible examiner, rendered him mellow, and then plied him with questions concerning opposition banks, or put questions in his mouth to be asked of rivals that Socrates himself would never have thought of.

There were still other cases where a bank examiner was known to make a temporary loan from the bank undergoing examination, but which he forgot to pay. It is quite needless to say that the report of the bank so victimized was favorable.

This condition of things was more common some ten or fifteen years after the National Bank system was established, and in the rural districts